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North China AF12
East China AF15 •
South China AF17
Southwest China AF16
Central China AF14

[For information on population density as of the 1953 Census, see AF13 Northwest China, 1: Washington, cat. 116, pp. 114-115.]

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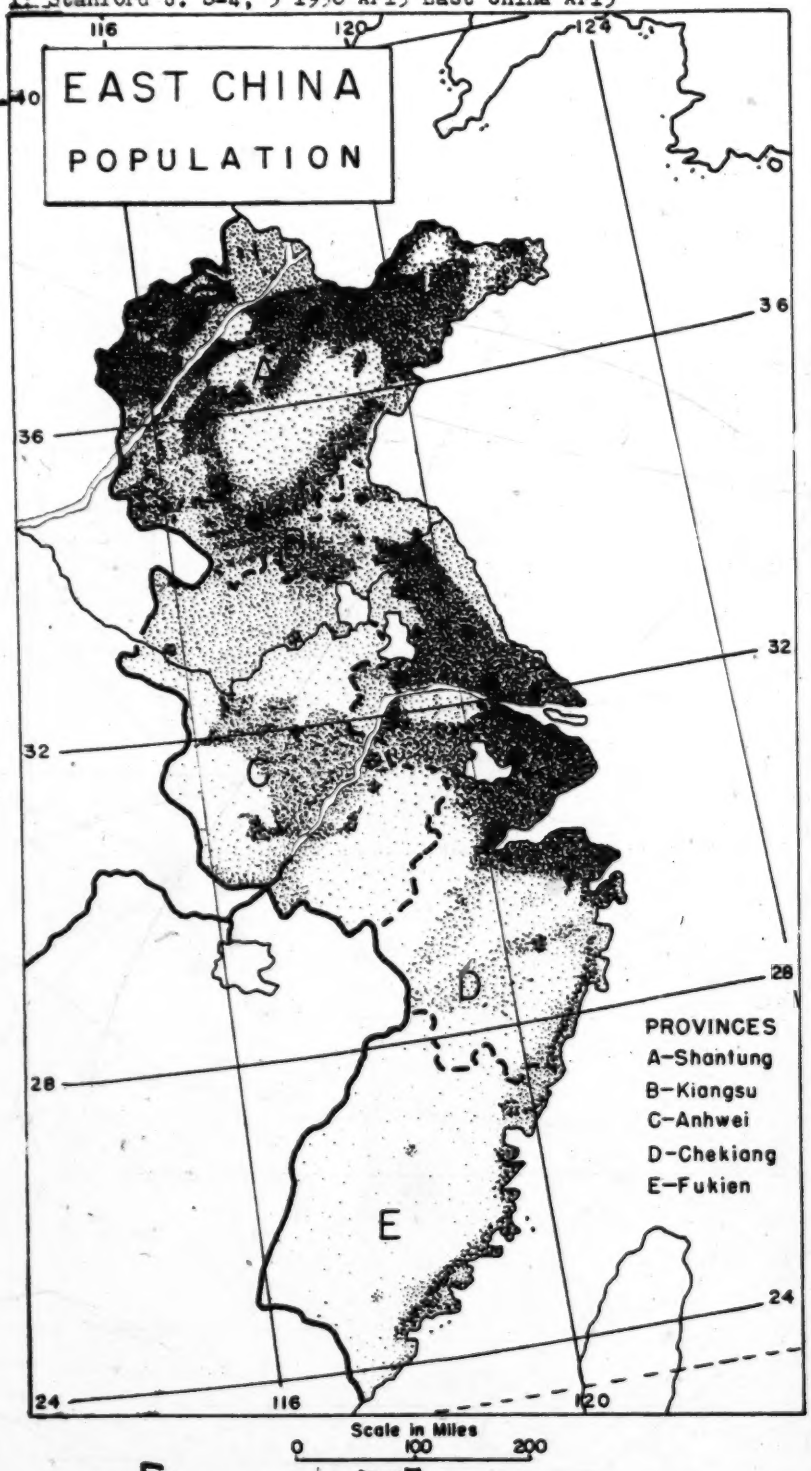

[Facing p. 75]

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c, Sociological Background

POPULATION

I. DISTRIBUTION, DENSITY, AND GROWTH

A. Distribution

● /6/ The results of the 1953 Census show that as of June 30, 1953, over 162 million people lived in the East China Region comprising, Shantung, Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Fukien provinces. This makes East China the second most populous region in China, although its area of 235,866 square miles ranks sixth. The distribution is as follows: */

Table 1. Population of East China by Province

Anhwei	30,343,537
Chekiang	22,865,747
Fukien	13,142,721
Kiangsu	41,252,192
Shantung	48,876,548
Shanghai Municipality	6,204,417
Regional Total	162,685,262

*/ Kuang-ming Jih-pao (Enlightenment Daily), November 1, 1954, p. 1.

The accuracy of the figures in Table 1 is, of course, still open to question. Doubt may easily be cast on these figures on the basis of any one or all of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough; in certain areas where direct counting of noses was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates) were employed. (2) Not long before the results of the census were announced the responsible Communist quarters had already started a campaign to

"correct undesirable habit of filing false reports," and no less authoritative an agency than the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work of various government departments.[1] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by Communist officials had remained under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, the same Communist officials had already stepped up their estimates to around 550 million. Thus there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have made a conscious effort to exaggerate the figures for propaganda purposes.[2]

However, until additional evidence is discovered to substantiate charges of fabrication, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and only direct nationwide census. Relative reliability is further strengthened by the following points: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electoral delegates and the voters they represented in the general election for which the census was initiated.[3]

1. Jen-min Jih-pao (People'sDaily), Peking March 31, 1954, p. 1.

2. Tsui-chin Ch'i-ko-yüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-ch'ing Tsung Pao-kao, (Comprehensive Report on the Conditions of the Chinese Communists in the Last Seven Months), Taipei, the Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 22-23.

3. Yuan-li Wu, Economy of Communist China, New York Bookman Associates, 1956, pp. 13-22.

• 161 (2) The fact that scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available, roughly covering all the corners of China, should serve to indicate the geographic extent, if not the degree of thoroughness with which the census-taking was carried out. And such thoroughness is unprecedented in China. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 began their study on population, and it appears possible to say that the Peking regime had exercised considerable discretion in checking the 1953 census against the previously released figures. (4) Only a comparatively small portion of the 1953 figures (or about 8 million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of census-taking." (5) The above-cited communique also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. It states that after rechecking 9 per cent (or 52,950,000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, the duplicates only amounted to 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.255 per cent.

Bearing in mind the above observations and reservations, we will proceed to discuss the population figures in Table 1.

Since the census was taken, there have been signs indicating subsequent changes, some of which may be great enough to cast doubt on the validity of the figures in Table 1. At least one example has been found in the Communist press: in the sixteen months following the 1953 census, 206 births and 71 deaths have occurred in Ch'ing-lung hsiang and Chiang-ning hsien in Kiangsu Province and 126 people have moved into the

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• 161 village group. These changes have affected 46.2 per cent of the 1953 census figure for this hsiang.[4]

On the basis of the 1953 census, the authorities were at a loss in carrying out rationing, planned purchase, consolidated supply, etc. In Ch'ing-lung hsiang, five additional surveys had to be made in order to adjust the 1953 census figure. It was reported that at the end of these successive enumerations, the ration coupons still failed to tally with the actual population in that village group. The government is said to have learned a lesson from the above experience and is vigorously pushing a permanent registration system to keep pace with the population trends in all corners of China.

E. Density

The Yangtze River delta in this region and the Pearl River delta to the south are the two most populous sections of China. Within the Yangtze River delta, the area south of the river is even more crowded than the north. Great differences are observed between the Ch'ien-t'ang River estuary area and the Hsien-hsia-ling Mountain section in the same province of Chekiang. The following table shows the average density.

4. Enlightenment Daily, April 2, 1955.

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•/6/ Table 2. Population Density in East China

	Per Sq. Km.	Per Sq. Mile
Anhwei	207.5	537.42
Chekiang	205.8	533.02
Kiangsu	400.0	1,036.00
Fukien	100.0	259.00
Shantung	322.9	836.31
Shanghai Municipality	6,547.6	16,958.28
Regional Average	268.35	695.02

An average density of 695.02 per square mile makes this region the most congested among all the regions of China. This is a continuation of the traditional situation in China's coastal provinces where economic development has been most favorable to growth and concentration of population. In comparison, the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Hampshire, and Connecticut have an aggregate area of 234,804 square miles, which is quite close to that of the East China Region. But the average population density of these states is 159.12 per square mile, only one-fifth that of East China. Burma is slightly larger than East China, but the population amounts to only one-eighth that of East China.

C. Growth

In explaining the census results, the Peking regime tirelessly quoted its success in the improvement of standards of living and medical services throughout China. To substantiate the

census reports, the Communist press cites such cases as that of Ai-ling and Sheng-li hsiang in Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu Province.[5] From June 1951 through June 1953 in these two village groups the average birth rate was 33.64 per thousand, or 3.36 per cent, and the average death rate was 1.93 per cent. The natural increase thus was 1.43 per cent, somewhat lower than the national average of 2 per cent given in the communique announcing the official results of the 1953 census. On the other hand, a higher average of 2.7 per cent was reported after a survey conducted during 1952-53 by the municipal government of Chiang-ning hsien in co-operation with the Department of the Interior of the Central People's Government and the Revolutionary Military Committee, using as a cross-section 29 municipalities, 5 hsien, 2 hsiang, and one village. There appears to be some grounds for the Peking claim of 99.5 per cent accuracy for the 1953 census. The population increase in the East China Region, judging by the few scattered samples reported in the Communist press, seems to be well within the general pattern of the nation as a whole.

Another comparison may be made of earlier census figures and those for 1953. The result tends to show that Peking is exercising considerable discretion in claiming the 2 per cent average rate of increase. Although, when we examine the following table such a study may help to ascertain the validity of Peking's claim,

5. Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), Peking March 11, 1954.

•/16/ it is just as important to take into account the margin of error in the earlier figures, the differences in methods of survey, and other factors.

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Table 3. Population Increase in East China*

	1948	1951	1953
Anhwei	22,462,217	30,000,000	30,343,637
Chekiang	19,958,715	21,000,000	22,865,747
Fukien	11,143,083	12,000,000	13,142,721
Kiangsi	36,080,123	40,000,000	41,252,192
Shantung	38,865,254	45,212,458	48,876,548
Shanghai Municipality	4,630,385	6,000,000	6,204,417
Regional Total	133,139,777	154,212,458	162,685,262

*/ The figures are based on Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi t'i-yao [Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China] , Taipei, Executive Yuan, Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts & Statistics, 1955 p. 34. The figures are from The Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province, p. 19.

161 An increase in population has been discernible during the past century in most of the provinces of the East China Region, but some of the gazeteers have recorded a decrease in the population of Fukien Province. Available statistics have placed the Fukien population at 17,173,293 in 1829, the peak year, and from that time the population in Fukien has declined until it reached a low of less than 10 million in 1930. Some slight fluctuations have been observed, but the highest figures have not exceeded 14.5 million.[6] In explanation it might be said that the economic backwardness of the province discouraged any population increase, and, as well, the wars fought in this region have had some effect on the decline in population. Added to these factors is the emigration of the Fukienese to Thailand and other countries.

II. COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

A. Age Groups

162 The communique announcing the 1953 census failed to give details on average ages of the population. Breakdown figures, subsequently released, are incomplete and inadequate as a test of the Communist claim that the young and able-bodied element is predominant in China. So far we have learned that

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6. Chin-t'ao Huang, Fu-chien Ching-chi Kai-k'uang [The Economic Situation in Fukien], Fukien, Provincial Government, 1943, pp. 19-21.

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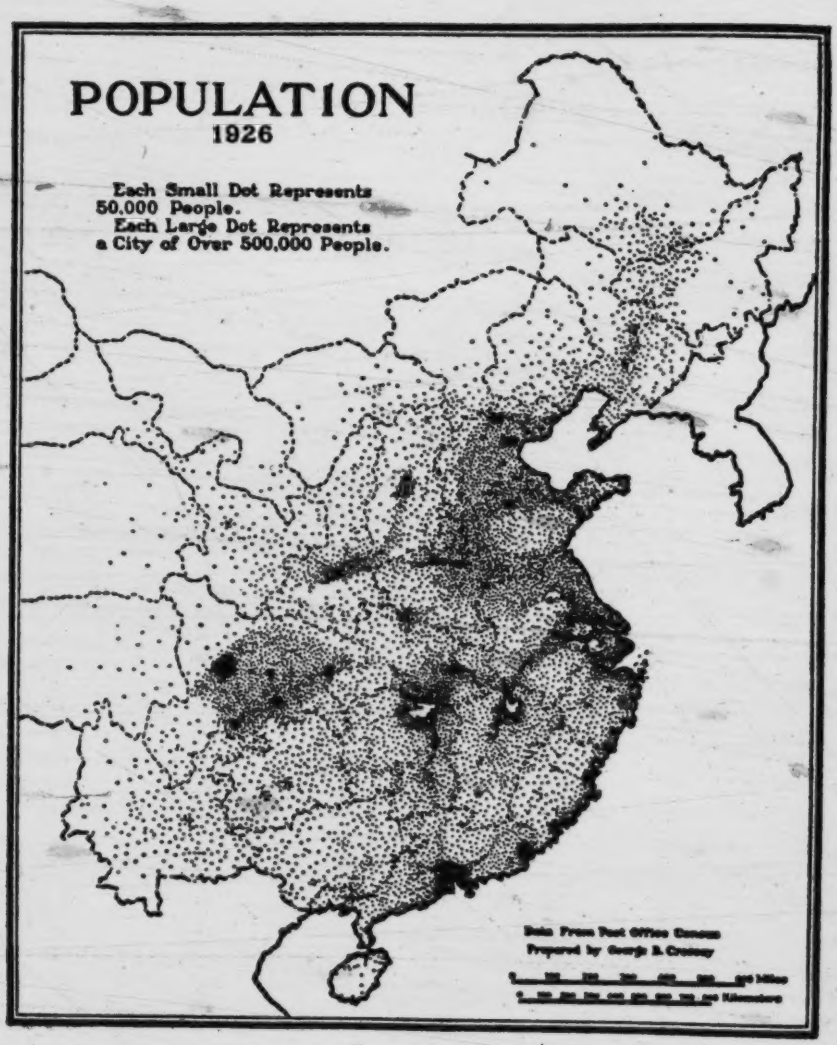

Map 7. Distribution of Population in China (reproduced here by the courtesy of the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., from G. B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* [1934]).

[p. 74]

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

reported by Buck. According to his figures, the grain production (or equivalent) per male adult of the population (or equivalent) within this thirty-mile radius averages 2594 kilograms, as compared with an all-China average of 1400 kilograms.[9]

The problem of how Shanghai is fed is, however, not answered merely by the facts of fertile soil, intensive cultivation, and high crop yields in its immediate hinterland. While the delta is clearly productive, it is equally clearly densely populated, and it is likely that a larger proportion of the total population of the fertile triangle lives in cities than is the case in any other area of comparable size in China (map 5).

Buck estimates that the consumption of food energy on farms in this area is 3486 calories per adult-male unit per day, a high figure for a so-called subsistence agricultural economy, and exceeded in Buck's figures for China only by the rice-tea area immediately to the south.[10] Far from being a subsistence economy, the triangle supports a relatively commercialized agriculture. Buck estimates for example, that the farmers of this area sell 61 per cent of their farm products immediately after harvest, and that 60 per cent of farm products are sold (i.e., first sale) as far away as the nearest market town, as distinct from the local village. Both of these figures are exceeded only by those from the double-cropping rice area of Kwangtung.[11]

Assuming that the favorable natural environment and the intensive farming methods result in a total food production great enough to allow a surplus for feeding the delta's cities, how is it marketed in this pre-industrial economy? Cities of the magnitude of Shanghai have hitherto never developed except where mechanization and technological improvement in agriculture have been accompanied by the growth of railways, and later, highways.* Shanghai, competing for the food surplus of the delta with Hangchow, Nanking, Soochow, and other large delta cities, added well over three millions to its population between 1843 and 1936, while agricultural practices in the delta remained in general just as they

* Ancient Rome and Peking, both cities of approximately one million long before the industrial revolution, might constitute exceptions. Both owed their size primarily to their administrative functions, and both depended heavily on water transport.